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I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. IX, NO. 42 NOVEMBER 13, 1961 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

A Victory for Peace Nobody Noticed — And Its Lesson

We will probably learn little of what Nehru and Kennedy really said to each other. But it is a pity that so little attention was paid, on the eve of the great neutral leader's visit, to the significance of what happened at the UN in the election of U Thant to succeed Hammarskjold, of India's part in that achievement, and of the lesson it holds for the problems of nuclear testing, of Berlin and of the unstable situation in Southeast Asia. U Thant's election, which saved the UN, demonstrated that despite the deterioration in Soviet-American relations, quiet negotiation between the two great Powers could still be fruitful. The Russians withdrew from their troika proposal while we agreed to arrangements in the UN Secretariat which make its operations more tolerable for them. The fact is that for some years the top Russian representative in the Secretariat has been treated as an outsider, and barred from its inner councils. When U Thant told the General Assembly Nov. 3 that he would name "a limited number of persons who are at present Under Secretaries to act as my principal advisers on important questions" and that two of these advisers would be Ralph Bunche and Georgi Petrovich Arkadev, he was assuring the Russians of a change. As Thos. J. Hamilton wrote in the *New York Times* Nov. 5, under these arrangements "the position of the ranking Soviet representative in the Secretariat will revert to what it was in the early years. After the Korean war began, Mr. Lie barred the Soviet representatives from participating in Korean matters and Mr. Hammarskjold excluded him from the Congo problem." The effect was to make the UN appear to the Russians as a Western instrument. We would have been as suspicious and infuriated as they were if the roles were reversed.

How India Helped

The Indian contribution was to insist that the election of a Secretary be negotiated between the two great Powers, and not thrown into the lap of the General Assembly to become the occasion of another cold war battle. Krishna Menon, whom our press maligns because he tries to play a mediatorial role, lined up the neutrals and kept the pressure on both sides. The result was an extraordinary few weeks of real negotiation and mutual concession between Mr. Zorin and Mr. Stevenson. Neither side got anything like the full demands with which it started but both ended with considerable victories. Ours was sizeable but the press is so conditioned to cold war bell-ringing and so myopic to peaceful solutions that it has hardly noticed. Our victory was the abandonment of the troika and of the Russian demand for some veto arrangement inside the Secretariat itself. The basis of the settlement rested on the influence of the neutrals, hostile from the first to the troika idea, and on the mutual interest of the two great Powers, both of which realize—in their calmer moments—that some international organization of this kind is indispensable.

"Turn Toward Peace"

"I oppose the present drift toward war. I want to Turn Toward Peace. The United States should set its own course in foreign relations and not merely react to the threats or promises of the Soviet Union. The best defense against communism is the strengthening of our commitment to freedom and democracy through measures consistent with these ideals. Freedom and democracy could not survive nuclear war, but they can flourish in peace. Accordingly, I believe we must Turn Toward Peace. We must support the President in his appeal for total and complete disarmament. We must develop world law. We must establish constructive non-military solutions for international conflict. The United States can take initiatives for peace."

—"A Declaration of Conscience and Responsibility" sent out by the American Friends Service Committee, asking signers to write the President about the need for a Turn Toward Peace, and to encourage all groups to which they belong to cooperate with a Turn Toward Peace program.

The lesson is to negotiate, and this lesson needs immediate applicability to Berlin, which has become an obstacle to solutions of broader problems. It is quite clear, for example, that until the possibility of war over Berlin has been eliminated, there is no chance the Russians would agree to the establishment of nuclear test listening posts on their soil. The chances of reviving a separate treaty on tests depends on a Berlin agreement and a relaxation of tension. Yet weeks pass into months without negotiations and the situation steadily grows worse: Are we to blow up the world rather than have travellers in civilian clothes show their passports to East German border guards? How insanely childish can we get? Now a new Adenauer government has been established on the basis of an agreement (of dubious legality under German constitutional law) which would further freeze the situation. The Free Democrats (a combination of big business—that is, anti social welfare—"liberals", plain reactionaries and right-wing nationalists) have imposed terms not only on Adenauer but on us. They demand in fact that the Kennedy Administration go back to the Eisenhower idea of a "nuclear NATO", another step toward full German acquisition of nuclear weapons. They want to accord not even de facto recognition to East Germany. While the big industrialists behind the FDP carry on their lucrative trade with the Soviet bloc, we are to shoulder the dangerous burden of pushing back the Russians and reuniting the

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Another Air Force "Gap" This Time on Shelters?—Time to Slap Down Nkrumah

Gen. Walker: Thinks Dixiecrat Calvary Can Make Him A Man on Horseback

The Walker resignation will prove a minor league re-play of the Truman-McArthur controversy, and end the same way —in another defeat for a conceited military man. Walker has McArthur's arrogance without his ability; his prose is as purple but makes less sense; the release of his resignation through South Carolina Strum Thurmond's office showed a lack of any feel for political realities. It's hard enough to sell this country a man on horseback; it's impossible if he is to be a Dixiecrat cavalryman. We predict that Gen. Walker's crusade will be rich in the same kind of silly prattfalls as have marked the public appearance of that other doddering Patrick Henry, Robert Welch of the Birch Society ("just a Ku Klux outfit without the nightshirts" Harry Truman called it on a visit here last week). . . .

Isn't it time for friends of the new Africa, white and black, to form an organization free from any taint of colonialism to keep an eye on and protest such gross infringements of civil liberties as are occurring in Ghana? Nkrumah first picked up the worst habits of British colonialism with a preventive detention act under which he can jail opponents for five years without trial. He has now established a special court which can hand down death sentences for political offienses without jury trial or right of appeal. This measure was enacted in the wake of a strike by railway workers against a wage cut. One can imagine the outcry if such laws were imposed by an imperialistic power. Like Nkrumah's sickening personality cult, they disgrace the cause of African freedom. . . .

One of those Air Force financed researchers at Rand Corporation, Dr. Leon Goure, is about to bring out a book (already hailed by *Life* Nov. 27) in which he claims that Russia has bomb shelters for at least half its people. But Preston Grover, chief of the AP's Moscow bureau reported (*Baltimore Sun,* Nov. 2), "This correspondent has made a sustained but unsuccessful hunt to find either a bomb shelter or anybody who has seen one in the Soviet Union." When the Air Force wanted more money for bombers, it leaked stories about a "bomber gap". When it wanted more money for missiles, it leaked stories about a "missile gap" which seem to have been equally exaggerated. Now the Air Force wants to sell the idea that there is a "shelter gap". . . .

Bowles Replies to Birchwaterism

"Some frustrated citizens seem to be saying that communism arises from socialism, which in turn stems from liberalism, which in turn emerges from the democratic ideas written into our Declaration of Independence by Thomas Jefferson. This notion will not hold water.

"Can they name a single nation which had achieved a reasonable measure of economic well-being and social justice that has been overturned by the Communists?

"With the exception of those nations where the Soviet Army has imposed Soviet regimes, communism has moved toward power only in societies which were reactionary and oppressive . . . where people were illiterate and hungry, and where they had abandoned all hope that their problems could be solved by any other alternative.

"The only realistic answer to the Communist challenge is more democracy and progressivism, not less, not only here in America but elsewhere in the world."

—Under Secretary of State Chester Bowles to the 10th anniversary, Adult Education Conferences of the U.S., Washington, D.C., Nov. 5.

A Sample of the Rightist War Hysteria Cropping Up With Civil Defense

"The current world situation compels a frank appraisal of Civilian Defense as an instrument for saving lives and as a means of maintaining strong civilian morale upon which to build positive national action. Both objectives are imperative to survival of our way of life in the face of the demonstrated and continuing Communist aggression which today continues to advance through both military and subversive channels.

"There no longer can be doubt in anyone's mind that Russian and Chinese Communist aggression is both virulent and brutally planned. This disease must be wiped from the face of the earth. The psychopathic, forced withdrawal of a great people behind an iron curtain at the will and compulsion of a relatively small group of organized, insane, power-hungry bandits cannot be allowed to continue. A showdown must eventually come, or freedom shall be no man's privilege.

"Whether or not the iron curtain can be breached without the brute force of arms, the world cannot longer continue with any degree of sanity or security while faced with the continued pressure and threat of Communist enslavement. Where does the United States of America stand in this situation? It stands where you, the individual citizen, stands—and "stand" each citizen MUST. Now is the time for commitment. There can be no further delay.

"At present, the Civilian Defense Organization is the most obvious and most opportune instrument for recording each individual's committed stand on the question of appeasement or resistance to active, Party-Line Communism. It is highly important that each citizen participate actively in the Civilian Defense Organization, now. Every loyal, true American should stand at the side of his neighbor wearing an army band of the Civilian Defense Corps, pledged to support and to uphold the Constitution and the principles upon which our defense rests. There can be no equivocation. Either you belong now—committed to your nation's defense—or you do not belong, and so stand 'uncommitted.' Today, no commitment in this matter is an open invitation to party-line Communist penetration.

"Civilian Defense is an adjunct to Military Defense in any military action, but it is more than that before the world today. It is the strongest evidence of a defensive attitude—not an aggressive one; but one which also demonstrates a solidarity and preparedness for action, should action be necessary. This is a highly important position in the world today and forces the Communist into the open for all to see—an exposure which can destroy his life.

"In Nutley, during Civilian Defense Week, opportunity will be given to each person as a citizen to join the Nutley Civilian Defense Organization and thereby to commit himself or herself to defense of the American Way of Life—the way of freedom and liberty."

—From 4-page pamphlet issued by Nutley, N.J., Civil Defense Organization, complete with registration form and loyalty oath swearing non-membership in any organization advocating overthrow of the government.

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Twin Parleys on Germany Proposed—One Of Its Smaller East West Neighbors

Mansfield: "Stand Firm", Repeated Like A Litany, Won't Solve Berlin Problem

We'd like to launch an experiment with our readers. One thing they can do for peace is to let their representatives know someone is listening. On this page we present excerpts from a speech made in Richmond, Va., Nov. 3 by Democratic leader Mansfield of Montana, another in the series with which he has been trying to thaw out dangerously frozen American positions on Berlin and Germany. These have made him unpopular in Bonn and brought him criticism at home from rightists and the simple-minded. If you like what he had to say, will you write and tell him so? Even Senators need encouragement. And send us a postcard to say you've written so we can judge the response.—IFS

"Berlin is more than a question of an East-West clash over a city, a wall, an escape, a place to test wills. In a far more significant sense it is a symbol of the failure of total victory in World War II to produce the conditions of total peace in Europe. It is also a symbol of a Germany divided against itself. The larger division of Germany is, in itself, a symbol of a divided Europe. All of these divisions, from that of a city to that of a continent intermesh one with another on gears of fear. There are German fears of the East. There are Polish, Czech and other fears of Germany. There are NATO fears of the Warsaw Pact forces and similar fears in reverse. There are capitalist fears of communism and communist fears of capitalism and socialist fears of both. There is freedom's antipathy to totaltitarianism and the totalitarian hatred of freedom.

"All these and other difficulties converge at Berlin in a direct and hostile confrontation of military forces. It is no answer to these deeper difficulties to repeat the phrase 'standing firm' as though it were some litany which would exorcise them. Nor is it an answer to them to build a wall as the Communists have done. . . .

Events Erode The Ground Beneath Us

"It seems to me that there is a responsibility on the part of rational men and women to think beyond 'standing firm' and dividing walls, visible or invisible. Of course, we must stand firm when we are challenged but we must not stand, struck dumb, as events erode the very ground on which we are standing. There is a responsibility to do more than to stand firm. . . .

"The responsibility is not ours alone. It is a shared responsibility but it is a vital responsibility for us no less than others. As it is discharged and only as it is discharged in all earnestness in contact and in negotiation, by all the parties concerned can we hope for a lifting of the cloud of incipient destruction which hovers over Europe and spreads throughout the world.

"In this connection, may I say that there is just as much danger of error in the assumption of too great a responsibility by either the U.S. or the Soviet Union as there is in the assumption of too little. . . . The fate of a divided Germany is not ours alone to decide. It rests in heavy measure, a decade and a half after the war, with the German people in both spheres and on the two governments which represent or purport to represent them. Nor is the fate of all Europe the primary responsibility of this country and the Soviet Union which are, in reality, nations on its fringes.

"I would suggest, therefore, that there may be room here for two simultaneous conferences of exploration, separate but interrelated, in some such city as Vienna or Geneva. There is room for a conference of the foreign ministers of the U.S., France, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union on the Berlin situation and other vestigial problems of World War II and the occupation. And there is room for a conference of the nations of Europe on both sides of the divided continent, of the nations of the Warsaw Pact and NATO in which they might make their sentiments known on the security and other problems of a divided continent—problems in which their stake is at least as great as is ours or Russia's.

"And I may add that I cannot see that it matters very much who takes the first step toward such conferences. What is far more important is the courage, wisdom, restraint and patience with which they are approached. . . . At the very least we shall be able to bring into the consideration of the critical problems of peace in Europe the thoughts and ideas of those important nations of Europe which have been shunted aside in the present concern of the larger powers with firm stands and excluding walls."

The Seal and the Salmon But Not Man

"So far only four nations have tested in the atmosphere. But there are at least a dozen other nations and eventually there will be more, each of which might follow the same course if they are so inclined. Whether they do so now or next year or years hence, it must be clear where the course of an indiscriminate national testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere on the basis of the claim of self-defense must eventually lead. At the very least, it must lead, as it is already leading, to a world which is increasingly inhospitable to human life and this, without war in any formal sense. It must lead to a world in which acts of serious scientific aggression are indulged in the name of self-defense. By treaty, nations have protected the whale from indiscriminate destruction, the seal, the salmon and other animals and fish. Yet, in this instance, nations have not been able to protect men, women and children from the wanton depredation of nuclear testing in the atmosphere."

—Sen. Mansfield (D. Mont) at Richmond, Va., Nov. 3

Let's Leave "A Richer Heritage Than A Landscape of Fallout Shelters"

"A nuclear conflict may be unthinkable but it is becoming more and more apparent that it is not impossible. Since that is the case, the people of the nation are wise to consider its implications. . . . I would certainly not wish to discourage sober efforts in the field of civil defense by communities of individuals. Nevertheless, it seems to be essential that we guard against stimulating a national hysteria by commercial exploitation of this legitimate national concern. . . . We must avoid developing a national obsession with burrowing in the ground, and, in the process, exclude what may be more fruitful ways of dealing with international difficulties. . . . A cover of earth overhead may preserve the strain of human life but it will scarcely preserve a way of life. . . . We owe coming generations a richer heritage than a landscape of fallout shelters."

—Sen. Mansfield (D. Mont) in Richmond, Va., Nov. 3

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Canada Shows How New Nuclear Test Negotiations Could Begin

(Continued from Page One)

Reich for them.* The alternative, they threaten, is a deal with the Russians. The blackmail has begun. The sooner we get out of their clutches by negotiating with the Russians the better; both sides have an interest in putting limits now on German power before it is too late. One way to weaken the German hold on Washington is, as Senator Mansfield suggested last week (see speech on page three) to hold parallel conferences on Germany: one of the big Powers, the other of the smaller European States East and West which suffered so much from Germany in the past and fear its rebirth as a nuclear military force.

Moscow and Washington Voted Together

Just as the two great Powers have a common interest in keeping the German giant from growing out of control again, so they have a common interest in ending the arms race and in particular the nuclear aspect of it. The cost is enormous. The weapons grow more deadly and both sides more insecure. When the Germans and the Chinese acquire the weapons, the comfortable symmetry of the Russo-American tug-of-war will be upset and the world become more unstable. Here again the UN exerts a useful moral influence. The spectacle of the Soviet bloc and the inner core of the Western bloc voting solidly together last week against the Indian resolution for a new moratorium pending negotiation of a new treaty showed how alike are the motivations of the nuclear powers. It should shame both to see themselves in the same boat with the rivals they so self-righteously condemn—"imperialists" and Communists together. It should sober us to realize that even a neighbor and ally so close as Canada deserted the Western bloc to vote with the overwhelming majority of mankind for the Indian resolution. What Mr. Burns of Canada had to say should be thoughtfully considered in Washington before we, too, resume atmospheric testing. Mr. Burns said a new moratorium pending new negotiations was called for not only because of the radioactive danger but because the purpose of the tests is to develop even deadlier weapons though "As we have been told so many times, the nuclear Powers already have more than enough such weapons to kill half of humanity." Mr. Burns pleaded in First Committee Act 30:

> **The nuclear Powers assert that they have been or may be obliged to resume testing because their national security requires it. This, in the view of the Canadian delegation, is in the long run a grave error. A series of tests conducted by one side brings about a subsequent series of tests conducted by the other—and this is the essence of and the *most dangerous part of the arms race.* Can masses of nuclear weapons confer any security when it is certain that if the Powers owning them put them to use, they will go down together in mutual destruction—destruction which will extend far beyond their own borders?**

Mr. Burns skillfully sketched out the possibilities of negotiation on the issue between the Big Two. He pointed out that both are agreed on general and complete disarmament but that the Zorin-McCloy agreement also says, "efforts to ensure early agreement on an implementation of measures of disarmament," i.e. partial steps like a nuclear test agreement "should be undertaken without prejudicing progress on agreement on the total programme . . ." Thus negotiations on a test treaty could be resumed as asked by the Western bloc within the framework of general and complete disarmament as asked by the Soviet bloc. But Canada, like India, sees a new moratorium as essential Surely, Mr. Burns challenged the Soviet Union, it could not seriously intend "to go on testing nuclear weapons, as it has been doing for the past two months, at intervals whenever it suits its purpose, until all the details involved in a treaty for general and complete disarmament are agreed to and the treaty signed. Such an intention would certainly not indicate a serious desire to negotiate in good faith on general disarmament. Continued testing would provoke an intensification of the arms race and would not limit it." Mr. Kennedy for his part has talked of substituting a peace race for an arms race. This is the point at which to initiate it. Mankind will be grateful to us if we have the patience, the restraint and the wisdom to do so rather than to begin testing on our own in the air. *Noon, Nov. 8*

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* **The text of the 48-point coalition agreement has not been published and only partially leaked to the press. Antony Terry, Bonn correspondent of the Sunday Times of London reported (Nov. 5) that one point was "A guarantee of improved status for former Nazis and members of the SS."**

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